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ABSTRACT

Until the 1970s, social norms dictated that women provided care for their families and men were employed for pay. The rapid increase in paid work for women has resulted in an untenable model of work and care in which all employees are assumed to be unencumbered with family responsibilities and women who care for their families are dismissed as 'just housewives'. A review of practices in Australia, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Sweden (based on interviews with government officials, academics, managers, employees and representatives of unions and employers' associations) suggested new ways for work and care responsibilities to be reorganized. A new "shared work valued care" model might structure behavior by tempering employers' demands and shaping the aspirations of workers. 'Shared work' means sharing good jobs through reduced hours, flexible hours, job sharing and sharing care duties between men and women; 'valued care' encompasses flexible scheduling and making day and elder care a public-private responsibility. Policies that are needed in the United States to facilitate such as change include: (1) hours-of-work legislation; (2) adjustment-of-hours legislation; (3) equal opportunity and non-discrimination; (4) sharing of the cost of care; (5) untying of benefits from individual employers; and (6) updating of income security protections. (Contains 15 endnotes and 8 references.) (CG)

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SHARED WORK

New Norms for Organizing Market Work and Unpaid Care Work

VALUED CARE

CE 082 743

EILEEN APPELBAUM, THOMAS BAILEY,
PETER BERG, AND ARNE L. KALLEBERG

ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE

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5

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Table of contents

About the authors vi

Executive summary vii

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1: FROM BREADWINNER–HOMEMAKER MODEL TO UNENCUMBERED WORKER–DEVALUED CAREGIVER MODEL 4
Norm of the unencumbered worker 8
Devalued caregivers 9
Carer replacement services and the unencumbered worker 12

CHAPTER 2: SHARED WORK–VALUED CARE 14
Shared market work 15
Control over work schedules 19
Paid time off for full-time workers 20
Shared care 26
Summing up 32

CHAPTER 3: POLICIES TO FACILITATE A MODEL OF SHARED WORK–VALUED CARE 33

Endnotes 37

References 39

About EPI 40

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Executive summary

For a century or more, until the mid-1970s, the husband-as-breadwinner and wife-as-homemaker system governed social attitudes and individual aspirations toward paid work and unpaid care in the United States. Women's participation in paid employment rose steadily during much of that period, as rising educational levels, paid employment during wars, the growth of the service sector, and the emergence of the caring professions encouraged women to move outside the domestic sphere. However, most married women still left paid employment and became full-time homemakers when their children were born.

Since the mid-1970s, the rapid increase in the paid employment of mothers has made the traditional breadwinner–homemaker system of paid work and unpaid care untenable. It has been supplanted by the "unencumbered worker–marginalized caregiver" model of work and care in which all workers – male or female – can hold a full-time job provided they conform at work to employers' notions of a worker unencumbered by domestic responsibilities. This model of organizing paid and unpaid work has left most American working families anxious about their ability to care adequately for their children and aging relatives, stressed by the demands of work, and starved for time. Moreover, women who pursue homemaking on a full-time basis are dismissed as "just housewives," and the important care work they do is devalued. This attitude has been taken to an extreme in the case of poor single mothers. The emphasis in the recent "reform" of welfare in the U.S. on "work first" over "care first" has placed a greater value on having a woman work at minimum wage cleaning hotel rooms than on having her care for her child – even though her earnings will still leave her and her children impoverished.

This study examines practices in Japan, Australia, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy to gain insights into how work and care responsibilities might realistically be reorganized to better meet the needs of working families. It is based on interviews with government officials, academics, managers, employees and representatives of unions and employers' associations conducted from June to November 2000.

What emerged from this review of practices abroad was the possibility for a new set of social norms that structure behavior by tempering employers' demands and shaping the aspirations of workers. Such a model of behavior can be characterized as "shared work–valued care."

"Shared work" encompasses a combination of work with other aspects of well-being. It means sharing paid work among people through shorter work weeks, reduced hours, flexible schedules, and job sharing. It refers to sharing access to good blue- and white-collar jobs with mothers. It recognizes that equal access to paid jobs for women requires that men as well as women share in the important work of providing care within the family and community. Finally, it involves sharing the work of caring with community and other public institutions.

"Valued care" means that employees have access to a variety of flexible scheduling strategies so they can take greater control of their time and can negotiate the flexibility they need to meet their individual responsibilities. It also involves the sharing of day care and elder care as public-private responsibilities. In this way, families can have access to high-quality services, while workers who care for the young, the old, the sick, and the infirm can have access to good-paying jobs.

An important lesson from examining practices in other countries is that public policy has an indispensable role to play in helping nations achieve the norms of shared work–valued care. The policies needed to facilitate a system of shared work and valued care in the U.S. include:

- *Hours-of-work legislation* to allow for a shorter standard work week for all, flexibility for workers, longer part-time hours, and limits on mandatory overtime.
- *Adjustment-of-hours legislation* to allow workers to request up to a 20% reduction in hours and pro-rated reductions in pay and benefits.
- *Equal opportunity and non-discrimination provisions* to protect workers on part-time schedules from discrimination in pay or benefits.
- *Sharing of the cost of care* by investing in day care and elder care infrastructure, and by providing subsidies for child care and elder care, short-term carers' leave, subsidized wages or tax credits for caregivers, universal preschool, and after- and before-school programs for children.
- *Untying of benefits from individual employers* by making access to health insurance available to everyone without regard to employment status, and by establishing funds similar to unemployment insurance for maternity leave, parental leave, and long-term family medical leave.
- *Updating of income security protections* such as unemployment insurance and old age pensions to reflect the changes and great variety in family structure and in work arrangements.

Introduction

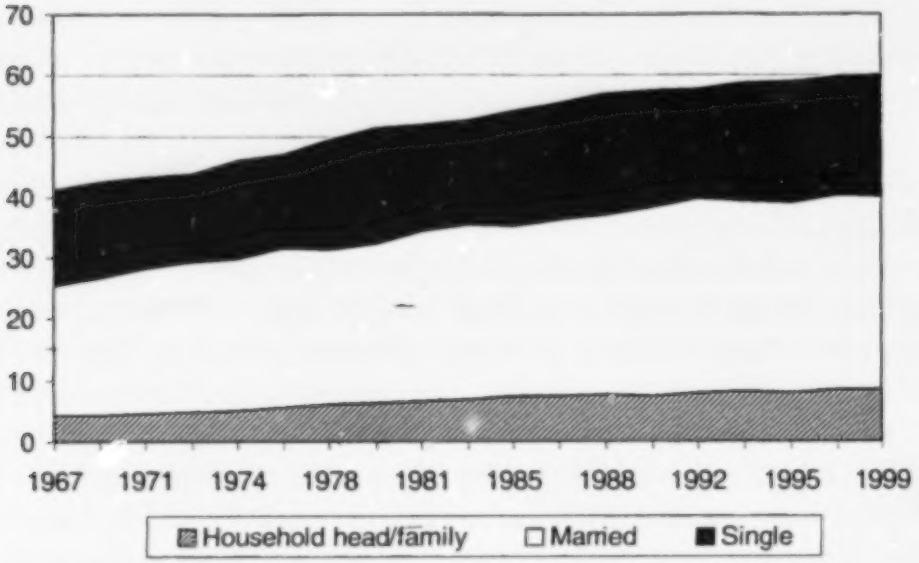
Much of the stress and anxiety facing working families in the U.S. arises from recent rapid changes in the paid employment of women, especially mothers, without compensating changes in the norms and institutions that support paid market work and unpaid care work. In 1967, 41.2% of women over the age of 20 were in paid employment. By 1999, that proportion had increased to 60.1% (see **Figure A**). Among married women, the increase has been even more dramatic. Between 1967 and 1999, the labor force participation of married women increased from 36.6% to 62.0%. In more than 60% of all married-couple households, both spouses are employed.

Over this period, women's employment in the U.S. increased most rapidly among married women with children. By 1999, nearly two-thirds of married women with children under the age of 6 were in the workforce, as were nearly three-quarters of those with school-age children (6 to 17). Largely as a result of these employment increases, average annual hours worked per year by married-couple households have grown explosively. In 1979, middle-class couples with children worked 3,272 hours a year on average – a little more than one full-time and one part-time job. In 1998, these families worked, on average, 3,885 hours a year – equivalent to nearly two full-time jobs.

Despite the increase in the percentage of women in the U.S. labor force, social supports for work remain largely unchanged since the 1930s. In the U.S., unemployment insurance and Social Security laws were written to protect families dependent on the wage of a male breadwinner. Not until 1993 did women have the legal right to take time off from work at the birth of a child. But maternity leave is unpaid, limited to 12 weeks, and unavailable to the large numbers of women who work in establishments that employ fewer than 50 workers. In contrast to most other industrialized countries, workers in the U.S. have no rights to paid vacation leave, sick leave, or parental leave. Mandatory overtime is common, and there is no national legal maximum number of hours of work in a day or a week.

To gain insights into how work and care responsibilities in the U.S.

FIGURE A Women's labor force participation, 1967-2000



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

might realistically be organized to better meet the needs of working families, we conducted a study tour of Japan, Australia, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy during June to November 2000. We met with government officials, academics, and representatives of unions and employers' associations. We also visited firms in these countries, and conducted interviews with managers and focus groups with employees to get a company perspective on this question. These interviews focused on white-collar professionals, nurses, and blue-collar workers.

What our research team has begun to distill from our study tours abroad is a new model of organizing paid market work and unpaid care in the home. We characterize this model as "shared work–valued care." While no country can serve as a model in every respect, we found there was much that each country we studied can learn from the others. Much of the learning is already underway in Europe, with impetus from the European Union for harmonization. The influence of the Treaty of Amsterdam and associated directives adopted at the Luxembourg and Vienna summits between 1997 and 1999 on equal opportunity, "gender mainstreaming," equal treatment of part-time workers, and earned paid time off or "working time" accounts has been especially positive.[1] Nevertheless, the model of shared

work and valued care cannot be said to exist in any of the countries that we visited. Elements of it can be observed in many places, however, and its broad outlines are clearly discernible.

The first section of this study describes the "unencumbered worker–devalued caregiver" model[2] that has come to characterize work and care responsibilities in the U.S. over the last three decades. As women have increased their participation in paid employment, the notion of the employee as male breadwinner has given way. It has been replaced by the notion that employers are entitled to an "unencumbered worker" – an employee, man or woman, who functions in the workplace *as if* he or she has a wife or other caregiver at home full time. In the course of this change, unpaid family care work has been devalued, and caregivers have been marginalized.

The second section describes the system of shared work–valued care that we think could go a long way toward resolving the unbearable tensions and forced choices American working families currently face. This section draws on our observations in the six countries in our study, and our interviews with managers in companies in these countries, to begin to imagine what such a system of norms might look like.

The paper concludes with a set of policies,[3] many of them already in place in one or another of the countries we studied, that would facilitate the emergence of gender-neutral norms of shared work and valued care in the United States.

Chapter 1

From breadwinner-homemaker model to unencumbered worker–devalued caregiver model

The norms of behavior that characterized work and care in the industrialized economies for most of the long period following the displacement of the farm and family economy by the factory and industrial economy can be characterized as the breadwinner–homemaker model of work and care. In this model, men worked outside the home for wages to provide for the financial security of their families. They were expected to earn enough to meet the family's needs for cash, and the demand for a "family wage" was a high priority for the industrial unions that emerged to represent male wage earners.

The home became the separate sphere of women. Women were no longer seen as the inferior sex, unsuitable to be entrusted with the custody and moral upbringing of children. Rather, they were seen as different from men and uniquely suited to homemaking and motherhood, which were recognized as important vocations for women. Wives looked after the needs of their husbands and cared for them after their day at work. Women undertook the unpaid work of caring for children and the elderly and contributed directly to the family's economic well-being by sewing, canning, and cooking.[4]

The breadwinner–homemaker system may have constrained the choices available to men and women, but it provided them with clearly delineated social roles and placed a high – if not equal – value on the separate contributions that each made. Women's work in the home, like men's in the paid labor force, was a source of pride as well as a real contribution to the family's standard of living. Many households, of course, did not conform to this norm. Some women never married and lived as dependents or servants. Others were widowed or had husbands who could not support them and their children, and were forced into paid employment. They labored in marginal and insecure jobs, at wages far less than those earned by men. A few had the means and education to pursue their own ambitions. But the norms of work and care were clear, and the separate contributions of men in the economic sphere and women in the family sphere were valued.

As men left the family economy to become wage earners, the economic security of the family came to hinge on the ability of a lone earner to hold a job. Governments, prodded by unions and social movements concerned about the plight of families in which the wage earner could not find a job or was too old or sick to work, enacted social protections and took on a growing role as guarantor of the welfare of their citizens. In the U.S. these protections included workmen's compensation for men injured on the job, unemployment compensation for those laid off from work, old-age pensions for those too old to work, disability insurance for those too sick to work, and survivors' insurance for widowed women and their children. These measures were supplemented in some countries with various other social protections – paid sick leave, paid vacations, generous severance pay, and provisions for early retirement.

The breadwinner–homemaker model did not exclude all women from paid employment. Many young single women were drawn into the labor force in the early years of the 20th century. Most women quit their jobs when they married, however.

The participation of women in paid employment increased steadily during the last century. Rising educational levels of women, the drafting of women into paid employment during wars, the growth of the service sector, and the emergence of the caring professions all encouraged women to move outside the domestic sphere. The caring professions – teaching, social work, nursing – provided acceptable careers for women who never married, and employment for married women in the years before they had children. However, most married women still left paid employment when their children were born. The exceptions were found mainly among the small number of college-educated women and those women whose husbands could not support them.

Dramatic increases in the employment of married women with children are recent. They began 25 years ago in the U.S., earlier in Sweden and some of the other Nordic countries, and much more recently in the countries of Western and Southern Europe, Japan, and Australia. In the Netherlands, with its strong Calvinist background, the breadwinner–homemaker model persisted longer than in many other industrialized countries; as recently as the 1970s, it was legal to terminate a woman's employment contract when she became pregnant, and so it is only recently that Dutch mothers began working.[5] Dual-earner couples are still less prevalent in the Netherlands than in Germany, the U.S., Sweden, or even Japan, however. Less than half (47.5%) of married or cohabitant Dutch couples are dual-earner households, compared with 63.8% in Germany, 73.1% in the U.S., 92.3% in Sweden and 52.8% in Japan.[6]

It is instructive to compare the reasons for the increases in mother's participation in market work in the U.S. and Sweden, which have the highest rates of paid employment of women.

Among working-class women in both countries, the rise of married women's participation in the labor force was fueled in part by advances in technology and industrialization. These advances in technology reduced the cost of manufactured goods and replaced women's home production activities, such as canning food or sewing clothing. Steadily rising educational levels of women over the 20th century broadened the horizons and increased the independence of young women. This, too, contributed to increased labor force participation by women in both countries. But here the similarities end.

The rapid entry of women into paid employment arose earlier in Sweden and was the result of two developments. First, a general recognition that the small size of the population meant that the standard of living in the country depended on the contribution of women as well as men to economic output led to social acceptance of women's employment. Public discourse has focused on the importance of this contribution, and on the steps society needs to take to secure the well-being of children while promoting employment of both parents. Without minimizing the length of time or amount of effort it took by women's groups and unions to achieve generous supports for work in Sweden, it seems clear that the nature of the discourse contributed to the outcomes. Community-based institutions that share in the care of children and the elderly were one important outcome of this social dialogue. Second, the development of the Swedish social welfare state during this period greatly expanded employment opportunities for women in the caring professions and situated these activities in the public sector.

Care work is relatively well-paid in Sweden, and excellent community-based facilities for the care of young children and elderly parents are widely available, either as public or subsidized services. Families have access to a variety of social security programs – paid maternity leave, paid parental leave, paid sick leave, paid leave to attend to sick children, generous paid vacation leave, and shorter working hours when children are young – that facilitate combining care and work responsibilities.

There is a dual relationship between Swedish women and the state, since the public sector is the major employer of women and, at the same time, the state has created the conditions for women's paid employment. That is, the state provides a highly developed, publicly funded system for the provision of education services, health care, care for the elderly, and care of young children. It also provides publicly financed leaves and subsi-

dized part-time work for parents of young children (this leave is taken mainly by mothers, though recently enacted measures encourage fathers to take parental leave as well). But this highly developed system of public services to assist women with domestic care responsibilities and enable them to hold a job coexists with a high degree of occupational segregation. Men hold the higher jobs in the public sector hierarchies, and women are largely excluded from jobs in manufacturing and from professional and managerial positions in the private sector. In these jobs, employers still view the full-time male breadwinner of an earlier era as the preferred employee.

In the U.S., in contrast, married women moved rapidly into paid employment over the last 25 years when the standard employment relationship, which had provided men with rising wages over their working lives, began to unravel. The oil price shocks and resulting stagflation in the 1970s led to a long period of falling real wages for men without a college degree. Men's wages fell from 1973 through the mid-1990s and threatened the purchasing power and living standards of most families. Married couples staved off a decline in the family's economic well-being by increasing family hours of work.

The employment of married women in the U.S. was conceptualized not as a contribution to the nation's standard of living but as a private response to the financial problems facing individual families. That has made all the difference. While the entry of men into the industrial labor force was accompanied by the development of social insurance to meet the family's needs for financial support if the wage earner were unable to work, the government has had no similar response to the entry of women into paid employment. Working families, as well as business and government, consider the arrangement of care for children while both parents work to be a private family responsibility. The only federal government initiative was the passage, in 1993, of an act that requires large employers to offer 12 weeks of unpaid family or medical leave to workers. Many workers cannot afford to take unpaid time off from work, and many others are not even covered by the provisions of the law.

The fact that nearly every available adult is in paid employment in the U.S. has had a profound effect on the ability of families to meet the personal needs of working adults or to care for children, the sick, and the elderly. The contradictions between the demands of homemaking and the demands of paid employment, and the unrealistic expectations for women who have shouldered that double burden, have not been addressed in the public discourse. Left to the market, then, these contradictions have been "resolved" through the devaluing of care work and the marginalization of the (still mainly) women who perform it.

Norm of the unencumbered worker

The new social norms of work and care that have emerged in the U.S. and in many other industrialized countries allow anyone – male or female – to work. The only requirement is that, as employees, they should conform to the norm of the unencumbered worker. An unencumbered worker is an employee who behaves in the workplace *as if* he or she has a wife at home full time, performing all of the unpaid care work that families require. According to Williams (Williams 2000), the "gold standard" worker is an employee who works full time, year round; is available to work overtime as required by the employer; and takes no time off for child bearing or child rearing. The expectation is that personal problems will not be brought into the workplace, and that conflicting demands will be resolved in favor of the requirements of the job. Indeed, workers in the U.S. can be – and frequently are – marginalized and even fired if their care responsibilities interfere with their jobs.

Mothers often take part-time jobs while their children are young. Among mothers in part-time jobs married to a man who works, about four-fifths report that they work part time for family reasons. It is still most often the wife who makes sacrifices in her career to allow the husband to perform in the workplace as if he has no family care responsibilities.

The number of part-time jobs in the U.S. increased with the first influx of women into paid work, but part-time employment stabilized at about 18% of the total workforce in 1979. About 14% of workers usually work in regular part-time jobs, while the remaining 4% usually work less than 35 hours a week as temps, on-call workers, or independent contractors, or are self-employed. About 21% of women work in regular part-time jobs, compared with 7% of men.

The occupational composition of part-time jobs also hasn't changed much since 1979. These jobs are found overwhelmingly in industries and occupations in which pay is low and benefits are often not available. Slightly more than half of all part-time jobs are found in just 10 (out of 236) industries, including restaurants, public schools, hospitals, grocery stores, department stores, and day care. Only 4% of women in managerial jobs and 12% in professional jobs – mainly nurses, substitute teachers, and adjunct college faculty – work on a regular part-time basis. It is legal for U.S. employers to pay part-time workers hourly wages that are less than those paid to full-time workers who do the same job, and firms can deny benefits. The larger problem, however, is that part-time work is largely restricted to low-paying jobs, such as cashier or retail clerk, that do not provide benefits or paid leave. These types of part-time jobs are a form of underemployment for educated women who work at jobs for which they are overqualified or who must turn down challenging assignments and promotions in order to

maintain their part-time status. In any case, they do not really solve the problems of working women, who still must combine work and family but lack the financial means to purchase good-quality child care, prepared foods, dry cleaning and mending, or house-cleaning services.

Rather, mothers in part-time jobs in the U.S. are frequently marginalized in terms of their relationship to paid work. If they are unmarried mothers, they may need to take part-time rather than full-time jobs in order to balance work with their care responsibilities, but this lack of access to the wage of an ideal worker means that they and their children are likely to be impoverished. As Joan Williams observes (Williams 2000, 57), even married mothers who choose part-time work may find that they and their children face greatly reduced circumstances if the marriage ends in divorce. The children of divorce are often cut off from most of what they would have received from their fathers, who most often function in the workplace as unencumbered workers.[7]

Since most households now have every available adult engaged in paid employment, and since most married couples in the U.S. – even those with young children – are dual earners, there are great stresses on household members. These are borne disproportionately by women, who still have the main responsibility for domestic homemaking and care. Mothers and, to a lesser extent, fathers with children at home shoulder a double burden. But employers are under no obligation to take note of this. When conflicts arise, employers expect compromises to be made on the care side of the equation – in time spent on housework and in the quality of care for children and elderly parents.

Devalued caregivers

In the unencumbered worker–devalued caregiver model, men or women can work if they conform to traditional notions of the male employee with no domestic responsibilities. The employee is to fit in care work, somehow, without impinging on his or her availability for work. Women who resolve this conflict by taking part-time jobs find themselves marginalized in the labor market. But it is not just in relation to paid work that women with caregiving responsibilities have been marginalized. Caregiving activities themselves have been devalued.

Women who pursue homemaking on a full-time basis, for example, are dismissed as "just a housewife," and the important care work they do is devalued. This has been taken to an extreme in the case of poor single mothers. The recent "reform" of welfare in the U.S. is, perhaps, the ultimate devaluing of care work. The emphasis on "work first" over "care first" has placed a greater value on having a woman work at minimum wage

WORKING REDUCED HOURS IN AUSTRALIA

At an Australian law firm we visited, which has 1,500 employees worldwide, including 800 in Sydney, women make up 60% of the lawyers. As is common in law firms, the attorneys work incredibly long hours – full-time lawyers typically work six days a week – but the firm has a number of policies that make it possible for lawyers to combine work and family. Its "working at home" policy lets employees work at home one day a week, and the company provides each employee with a laptop computer, fax machine, extra telephone line, cell phone, and other equipment to allow effective work at home. The company culture makes it possible for lawyers to leave work early to take care of dinner and children, then work a few hours at night after the children are in bed. Lawyers in most departments (but not litigation) can cut back their hours to 3.5 days a week – three days in the office and half-a-day at home. This arrangement is considered "part-time," although it typically involves 32 to 40 hours of work a week. Women have made partner on part-time schedules, but a male partner's request for a part-time schedule was refused.

Clients can be a problem for a law firm that wants to facilitate flexible or part-time schedules for its lawyers. Clients need to know they can call their lawyers at home, and not be put off if they hear a child in the background.

The firm has higher overhead costs as a result of the innovative approach it has taken to lawyers' work schedules, but management believes the arrangement pays off in higher productivity. Moreover, part-time employees provide the law firm with a certain amount of flexibility, since they can temporarily increase their hours if necessary.

making beds and cleaning hotel rooms than on having her care for her child – even though her earnings will still leave her and her children impoverished. Care work provided at home, whether by single mothers or married housewives, has been devalued – and so have the women who perform it.

Despite the fact that most mothers are working, the U.S. lacks an adequate system of high-quality care for children. Children's care is provided, for the most part, by marginalizing the untrained and underpaid child-care workers who provide it. Much the same can be said about care for the elderly. Earnings of the women who care for children and the elderly are extremely low, and turnover rates are excessively high. As a result, the quality and continuity of care of the most vulnerable members of society suffer. The removal of these services from the family to the marketplace, and the rapid rise in employment in these jobs, has fueled the expansion of the low-wage sector. Despite the low earnings of these women, however, the costs of these labor-intensive services absorb a huge fraction of the incomes of the families that require them.

Most industrialized economies do far better than the U.S., providing paid maternity and parental leave, for example, as well as paid sick leave and caregiver's leave. Few have provisions as generous as Sweden's, and many provide child care, nursing care, and elder care through the private sector. But many have recently introduced provisions that will enable women to work without marginalizing them in the labor market or marginalizing care activities. In Italy, recent legislation has introduced parental leave, and companies are encouraged to create part-time jobs across the occupational spectrum. This is especially important as young women are now more highly educated than men – and in some fields, such as law, are now a majority of the graduates. Women make up a large proportion of lawyers in Australia as well, and some firms have taken steps to facilitate their staff's ability to work reduced hours. (See box, "Working reduced hours in Australia.")

The Netherlands are deliberately trying to pursue a path organized in principle around widespread availability of good part-time jobs in the private sector that allow the sharing of care work between men and women. (See box, "Making part time work in the Netherlands.") In practice, there are still few good part-time jobs for Dutch men, and women in such jobs find career ladders truncated, but the goal is clear.

Despite these efforts, families in which every adult works face high levels of time pressure as well as new insecurities in nearly all industrialized countries. Except for Sweden, working families worry about how they can handle the high demands of the workplace and still provide adequate care for children and elderly parents. In the U.S. this is widely acknowledged as one of the most significant sources of insecurity for working families. When families depend on a mother's income, mothers often face impossible choices between missing work and losing their jobs and their ability to put food on the table, or going to work and sacrificing the well-being of their children. Even the less-acute forced "choice" between a career and a part-time job engenders stress and disappointment for mothers, and may mean a sharp decline in living standards or even impoverishment if the marriage ends in divorce.

In Sweden, the wide array of care facilities and generous paid leave policies spare women from facing such dreadful choices. Nevertheless, the Swedish system has its own, if less-threatening, insecurities. The severe recession in the first half of the 1990s exposed the vulnerabilities of the Swedish system. While relatively good wages and benefits paid to employees engaged in care work may help keep these workers from being marginalized, care occupations are still highly segregated by gender, and when large government budget deficits led to subsequent cutbacks in funding of public services, women were disproportionately vulnerable to the ensuing

MAKING PART TIME WORK IN THE NETHERLANDS

An elder care facility we observed in the Netherlands offers employees a balance between work and family that is not typical for residential homes.

The nursing home, which serves 100 elderly residents and an additional 150 clients, has about 100 employees, mainly nurses but also doctors and therapists. The nursing structure consists of eight qualification levels, with university-educated nurses at the top. At level 1 or 2, nurses bathe patients and give them dinner. Most nurses at the facility are at levels 1 to 3.

Only five of the 100 employees work full time. Part-time employees include nursing team managers and doctors. Hourly pay is the same for part-time and full-time workers, and benefits and training are pro-rated. Workers can reduce hours when their children are young and increase them later. Weekly hours range from three to 36. Turnover and absenteeism are rare, and they are covered by workers on very short schedules. On an incidental basis, employees will usually work more than their contractual hours, but they are not obligated to.

Nurses choose their own schedules. Unit requirements are posted on a monthly basis, and nursing team members fill in the hours they prefer to work and those they could work if necessary. The team manager then negotiates to cover all the hours. In case of a mismatch, the team can "hire in" nurses from other units. The facility does not use agency nurses. The facility manager reports that, while there is a shortage of nurses in the Netherlands, this facility does not have a staffing problem. Turnover is low – just four to six people a year – and recruiting has not been a problem, since older nurses who can no longer keep up the pace in hospitals and younger nurses combining work and family responsibilities find the part-time opportunities attractive.

layoffs. Moreover, the remaining workers faced intensified pressure as patient-to-nurse and child-to-day-care-teacher ratios rose. Today in Sweden, work stress and its health effects are a major topic of discussion – between the social partners and in everyday discourse among the public.

Carer replacement services and the unencumbered worker[8]

One of the basic tenets of the norm of the unencumbered worker is that employers are entitled to employees who behave as if they have a caregiver at home ready and able to assume major responsibility for unpaid care work in the family. This belief is held not only by employers, but it conditions the behavior and choices of parents. Adherence to this norm limits the career-track employment opportunities for mothers, many of whom find it difficult to meet employers' expectations. This is most acutely the case in Ja-

pan, where only 10% of women are employed in career-track jobs, whether managerial, professional, or blue collar. But it is apparent in all of the countries we studied. Even in Sweden, where 92% of couples are dual earners and where both partners work full time in more than half the cases, women's opportunities to pursue careers in private sector firms are limited.

One way out of this dilemma, at least in the U.S., has been the development of "carer replacement services." Some American companies, facing historically low levels of unemployment and tight labor markets, in the last half of the 1990s have begun to offer services that replace the unpaid work of a wife or other caregiver in the home in order to recruit or retain highly educated or skilled women employees. These services include concierge services to take care of laundry, shopping, purchasing gifts, waiting in line for tickets or at the department of motor vehicles, and so on. They may include on-site or subsidized child care for children, or places in adult day care programs for elderly relatives. More often, they include infirmaries so a mother can take a sick child to work with her, emergency child care arrangements in the event the child care provider does not show up, and overnight child care for workers with rotating shifts. Highly paid managerial and professional employees may also purchase these services for themselves, and some may have successfully bought their way out of the work–family bind. Such services are costly, however, and even managers and professionals are rarely able or willing to pay a nanny or a housekeeper the wage she would need (about $34,000 today) to lift her family out of the ranks of the working poor. This has contributed to inequality and polarization among U.S. families, with dual-earner couples in demanding and highly paid jobs managing their work and family lives by utilizing the services of lower-paid women in caregiving jobs.

While carer replacement services reduce the stress that high-income parents experience coping with a child who is too sick to go to child care, or with a child care provider who does not show up, reactions may nevertheless be mixed. Parents might prefer the option of parental leave that would enable them to stay home to care for a sick child themselves, and parents of young children might prefer to be exempted from shift work. In the absence of such options, carer replacement services may only serve to reinforce the expectation that employers are entitled to unencumbered workers.

Chapter 2

Shared work–valued care

As mothers have entered the workforce, families increasingly have no one at home whose full-time job it is to do the unpaid family care work. If this care work is not to be devalued, then employers need to respect the fact that their employees have care as well as work responsibilities. Employees need to have real choices available for organizing market and family work. These increased responsibilities call for a new set of social norms that structure behavior by workers and firms, that temper employers' demands on employees, and that shape the aspirations of both women and men for the type of employee and the type of parent or family member they can strive to be. We can begin to imagine what this new set of norms for work and care might be – a model of behavior that we call "shared work–valued care."

Shared work has multiple meanings. It encompasses sharing work with other aspects of well-being. It means sharing paid work among people through shorter work weeks, reduced hours, flexible schedules, and job sharing. It refers to sharing access to good jobs in both the public and private sectors with mothers, including skilled blue-collar, professional, and managerial jobs. It recognizes that equal access to paid jobs for women requires the recognition that care work, even when it is unpaid, is work; and that men as well as women must share in the important work of providing care within the family and the broader community. Finally, it means sharing the work of caring with community and other public institutions, which will include public subsidies to increase the pay of care workers. At the heart of these new norms is the recognition that a high value can be placed on care work only if all work – paid and unpaid – is shared and that men and women participate equally in both.

Valued care also has many meanings. Fundamentally, however, it means that employees have access to a variety of flexible scheduling strategies so they can take greater control of their time at work and away from work, and can negotiate the flexibility they need to meet their individual responsibilities. And it means that child care and elder care should be shared public-private responsibilities so that families can have access to high-quality

services, while child care workers, nursing assistants, and others who care for the young, the old, the sick, and the infirm can have access to good-paying jobs. In this system of norms, both paid work and unpaid care work are highly valued.

Unions have a major role to play in negotiating the conditions in the workplace that facilitate both shared work and valued care. This is especially true with respect to the working-time initiatives that are being implemented in many European countries. Innovations in working time do not necessarily enhance equality or improve welfare for either men or women workers. Rather, these changes have mainly been pursued to increase flexibility for employers or to create jobs. They can result in unstable or insecure jobs, and in poorly paid part-time jobs. But some of these innovations have opened up new possibilities for increasing employees' command over time. In a world of shared work and valued care, all workers – not just women – will need to gain greater individual control over the division of their time between paid employment and unpaid care work. In Europe, unions have contributed by negotiating the framework for individual flexibility and defining common standards of flexibility to minimize the chances of discrimination or marginalization of workers who adopt flexible arrangements. Unions negotiate transparency, due process procedures, and fair treatment of all employees who request individual flexibility; in doing so, they press for a uniform process for all workers rather than uniform outcomes.

Where rates of unionization are low, as they are in the U.S., parameters governing more flexible work arrangements and enabling workers and employers to negotiate individual schedules may need to be set through employment law. Without such parameters, questions of "flexibility for whom" are likely to arise, flexible schedules are likely to favor employers' requirements, and the interests of working parents and other employees who desire flexibility will be difficult to protect.

In the countries we studied, we observed many examples of practices that promote norms of shared work–valued care.[9] We briefly describe some of them below.

Shared market work

Part-time work and job sharing can represent good alternatives to long periods of withdrawal from the labor market by workers with family care responsibilities. To be successful, however, and to avoid marginalizing these workers, the jobs should provide opportunities for training, promotion, career progression, and wage mobility. In practice, they often do not. The exceptions tend to be in public agencies and in a few high-profile private firms that need to recruit or retain skilled professional or managerial women.

JOB SHARING IN THE NETHERLANDS

In advance of the Adjustment of Hours Act that went into effect in July 2000 in the Netherlands, a large Dutch multinational company (with 90,000, mostly male, employees at its headquarters and in its five global businesses) initiated a policy on hours adjustments that conforms to the requirements of the act. One of the early results has been substantial adoption of job sharing among executive secretaries.

The standard work week at the company is 40 hours. Under the provisions of the new law, an employee who expresses a preference for shorter or longer hours files a formal request and then negotiates with his or her supervisor. The supervisor cannot ask the reason for the request, and the request will normally be accepted unless there is a business reason to refuse. Since adoption of the new policy, the demand for part-time hours by employees has increased, to the point where about 45% of women and 8% of all employees currently work part time. Some employees, mainly men who want a four-day week, have reduced their hours to an 80% schedule, but the majority of part-time employees work a 60% schedule. The minimum schedule permitted by the company is 50% of the standard work week, or 20 hours, which can be allocated as 2.5 days per week or two days one week and three days the next.

The company responded to these requests for part-time hours by introducing job sharing, and now between 30% and 40% of the part-time workers are participating. Employees who job-share typically work alternating two-day and three-day weeks. Despite initial misgivings by corporate executives, management reports that the job-sharing arrangement has been successful. Executives are pleased to have two secretaries looking after them.

The few examples we saw of job sharing among skilled employees – among lawyers in a law firm and among unit managers in a hospital – appeared to be successful, but were viewed by employers and supervisors as highly idiosyncratic and dependent on the personalities of the individuals involved. These companies had not made a more general commitment to treating the situation as a single job occupied in tandem by two employees. More promising, but less demanding than in the case of lawyers or managers, was the use of job sharing for executive secretaries at the corporate headquarters of a large Dutch multinational. (See box, "Job sharing in the Netherlands.") Most of the women in these jobs wanted part-time schedules. The company did not believe that side-by-side part-time jobs would work, but accommodated these requests by introducing job sharing, in which each woman works three days one week and two days the next on opposite schedules. Two women share one job as secretary to a corporate executive, and each woman works half time. But despite these successful examples,

job sharing does not appear to be widespread in any of the countries we studied.

As for part-time work, mothers can reduce their hours at their current jobs in Sweden, but Swedish women are employed overwhelmingly in the public sector. Private sector employers are able to accommodate this requirement, as we saw at the companies we visited – a steel mill and an engineering facility that designed communications hardware for a high technology company – but the number of women employed at both of these companies was small.

In the Netherlands, two-thirds of employed women and 95% of employed mothers of young children work part time. These jobs are distributed far more widely across occupations in the private sector than is true of the U.S. or other countries in our study, and good-quality part-time job opportunities for women have expanded in the last few years. Nevertheless, many part-time jobs are typical, short-hour women's jobs in care services, retail trade, and restaurants. Despite the commitment to long part-time jobs, the working hours of part-timers in the Netherlands are short relative to median hours of part-time work in the EU. Moreover, women in good-quality part-time jobs are disadvantaged with respect to promotion and career opportunities. This situation has begun to improve, however, with the election in August 1998 of a new government that featured equal rights policy prominently in its coalition agreement. Recent legislation allows women who previously held full-time jobs to elect to return to work on a part-time basis following the birth of a child, with the right to return to full-time work at a date certain agreed to by the employer and employee. At the Dutch multinational we visited, women who chose this option of partial parental leave continued to accrue pension, vacation, and other benefits as if they were working full time.

Italy has less part-time employment opportunities than the other countries in our study, and employed mothers typically work full time. Fewer than 15% of employed mothers with children under the age of 10 work part time. Italy recently implemented a law similar to the Netherlands governing part-time work for mothers following the birth of a child. Women who had worked full time can return to work on a part-time basis, and they are guaranteed that they can later resume full-time employment. The intention in Italy is to encourage women to work, and to make it possible for mothers with children to hold jobs, while avoiding the trap of creating poor-quality part-time jobs and segregating women into them. The law is too recent to be able to assess its effectiveness.

Legislation in Germany that permits a mother who had worked full time to return to work for up to 19.5 hours a week following the birth of a child without giving up any of her parental leave rights has not encouraged

employers to create more good-quality part-time jobs. The law is largely ineffective because companies do not provide opportunities for women who had worked full time to return to their employer on a part-time basis. German laws governing redundancies and layoffs are understood by the managers we interviewed to make job sharing impossible.

In Australia, Japan, and Germany, the situation for working mothers is difficult, and mothers often do not have access to high-skill or good-quality part-time jobs. Japan has had a significant increase in the share of part-time employment as a result of the recent economic downturn and increased pressure on Japanese firms for greater flexibility in employment and wage structures. Between 1987 and 1997, the share of part-time employment increased from 14.2% to 18.8%.[10] Japanese tax policy also encourages married women to work part time by exempting, within a certain household income range, part-time workers' income from income and social insurance taxes. About 37% of women have adjusted their annual hours so they do not exceed the tax-exempt limit. The result is a significant wage difference between part-time and full-time workers, and limited access by working mothers to high-skill or good-quality jobs.

In Australia, where industrial relations between organizations and workers are governed by a system of federal and state "awards" negotiated by representatives of employers and unions and then enshrined in law, many mothers are employed as casual workers in jobs similar to direct-hire temporaries in the U.S. Until recently, the system of awards covered only full-time employees, so that workers who wanted to reduce their hours usually had to resign their regular jobs and become casual employees. As a result, about a third of Australian workers are casual employees. Australia is second only to Spain in its use of temporary workers. The passage of the 1996 Workplace Relations Act encouraged firms to establish permanent part-time jobs and allowed both full-time and regular part-time workers to be covered by awards. As a result, regular part-time employment has been growing at a more rapid rate than casual jobs since 1996 – although casual jobs still account for most of the employment of women at less than full-time hours.

Progress on work and family issues in Australia often comes through court cases, since these issues are addressed under the country's anti-discrimination-in-employment statutes. A number of high-profile cases established the right of workers to short periods of paid carer's leave to deal with family emergencies, with employers responsible for payments to workers taking such leave. Recently, women have won several lawsuits over the right of mothers to return to work on a part-time basis for a period of time following the birth of a child. This may lead to greater availability, at least for women, of this type of partial parental leave and part-time work.

The Netherlands stands at the opposite end of the spectrum in terms of public discourse and policy initiatives regarding part-time work. Social discourse about work and family centers on increasing the number of high-quality, nearly full-time jobs (80% of full-time weekly hours) – for men as well as women – and treating part-time work as a stage in the life cycle of workers with other responsibilities.[11] Opportunities for women in professional jobs, ranging from hospital nurses to tenured professors, to work a reduced four-day schedule have begun to increase. Clerical and administrative support jobs are frequently organized on a part-time basis.

Implementation of the Adjustment of Hours Act in the Netherlands in July 2000 makes it possible for both parents to request a reduction in hours. The act is expected to alter the balance in "kitchen table politics" – and strengthen the hand of mothers when they negotiate with their partners over shared work and shared care responsibilities. The hope is that parents – fathers as well as mothers – will be encouraged to request a 20% reduction in work time and pro-rated reductions in pay and benefits, and that employers will honor these requests from men as well as women. This system is seen in the Netherlands as an alternative to full parental leave, which tends to marginalize mothers in the labor market by having them leave the labor force for an extended period. The option to reduce working time temporarily and to work nearly full-time hours has been widely discussed in the Netherlands, although it is still far from being widely implemented.

The new legislation is expected to lead to the creation of high-quality part-time jobs for men that will facilitate shared care of children among both parents. It is also expected to facilitate greater participation of working parents in the care of their young children, and would result in children spending only three days a week in child care. As a side benefit, this system may help relieve the acute shortage of quality child care spaces in the Netherlands, since fewer places for young children would be required compared with the situation in which both parents work full time.

Control over work schedules

Most attention in Europe is focused on control over the weekly or annual duration of work time. The social dialogue is directed toward breaking down the wall between part-time and full-time employment, and on achieving a better match between the hours of work that employees desire and the hours they actually work. Nevertheless, we encountered examples of flextime and self-scheduling among hospital nurses that were intended to increase employees' control over their work schedules and their satisfaction with their jobs.

Control over work schedules was a more important issue in Japan and Australia, where it happens to be more difficult to obtain. But amendments to

the Labor Standards Law in the 1990s have made working time in Japan more flexible. These amendments have focused in part on the "discretionary work scheme," which is a version of flextime in which employees have a great deal of autonomy or discretion in setting daily hours of work. The discretionary work scheme modifies the method of calculating hours worked for specific white-collar professionals engaged in "discretionary work." Implementing a discretionary work scheme requires the consent of individual workers and the support of a joint worker/management committee.

The publishing and educational resources company we visited provides an example of how the discretionary work scheme is used in practice. The company's "super-flextime" scheme, introduced in 1994, provides workers with control and flexibility in setting their schedules. Employees can set their own working hours between 7 am and 10 p.m. as long as they work the required number of hours per month. However, not many companies use the discretionary work scheme. In 1997 (the most recent data), only 1.4% of enterprises did so.[12]

Similarly, German companies have slowly begun to introduce a greater degree of self-determination for professional workers in setting working times. The new approach to flexible schedules is referred to as "trust-based working time," and is characterized by variable daily working hours and an end to centralized recording by employers of hours worked. It goes beyond the usual notion of flextime by removing mandatory core hours, and it places the responsibility for organizing work schedules and coordinating with customers and co-workers on the individual employee. Employees are expected to work a certain number of hours within a mutually agreed time frame, usually a month. But within this constraint, they can set their daily hours themselves.

While "super flex" may be an option for some professionals, it is difficult to arrange this or other types of flexibility for nurses because of the nature of the patient care process. Within a shift, schedules tend to be rigid, and it is generally assumed that there is not much room for flexibility. However, some hospitals and nursing homes have tried to address nurses' needs for individual flexibility through self-scheduling. In Australia, we visited a hospital that adopted self-scheduling in 1995 and now finds that this control over schedules has enabled it to attract nurses during a period of labor shortages. (See the box, "Self-scheduling in Australia.")

Paid time off for full-time workers

At minimum, workers need paid vacations to renew their spirits and restore their energies. And the ability to use paid vacation days in small increments can help parents manage when children are sick or school is cancelled unexpectedly. Every country we visited requires paid vacations for full-time

SELF-SCHEDULING IN AUSTRALIA

An Australian hospital we observed, owned by a religious order and renowned for its high level of patient care, strives to integrate its values of hospital care for patients into its treatment of its employees. It prides itself on being flexible and having a "can do" culture.

The hospital employs 374 nurses – 136 permanent full-time nurses and 238 permanent part-time nurses. In addition, the hospital occasionally makes use of 76 casual part-time or hospital temporary nurses. Some of the permanent nurses work in a relief pool that fills in for vacations or long absences. The nurses are represented by a union. Nearly all the nurses (95%) are women.

The hospital introduced self-scheduling in 1994. Nurses in each department schedule themselves on a four-week basis. Typically, four nurses are needed on the day shift in a department and two are needed on the night shift every day. Each nurse indicates the schedule she wants, and then the nurses in a department negotiate among themselves. This process is usually successful. There is a cut-off date on which the schedule goes to the manager, who confirms the schedule or makes the tough decisions. In dealing with conflicts, the manager gives preference to employees in the following order: (1) permanent nurses; (2) relief pool; (3) casuals; (4) agency temps (as a last resort).

Part of what makes the self-scheduling work smoothly is that the hospital employs a large number of permanent part-time nurses. These employees like the flexibility of being able to say no when asked to put in extra time, but they are often willing to pick up an extra shift. They, like the full-time nurses, are paid a 15% premium for working an extra shift.

Hospital managers report that, despite a national nursing shortage that is even more acute in their locality, the hospital has been able to attract nurses. They attribute this in part to the success of self-scheduling.

employees, ranging from two weeks in Japan to four weeks in Australia and five to six weeks in Germany and Sweden. Unlike the U.S., blue-collar and white-collar employees enjoy vacations of similar length. Paid vacations are legally guaranteed except in Germany, where they have been negotiated between companies and unions and then generalized to the broader workforce. Australia and the European countries we studied pro-rate paid vacations for part-time workers.

The U.S. is alone in not requiring companies to provide paid vacation leave. However, many companies offer employees paid vacation, personal days, and sick leave. Recently, some employers and even some unions have proposed that these days to which employees are entitled be combined into a paid-time-off account that employees can use as needed.

Full-time workers have difficulty dealing even with the routine de-

mands of family work because they need to be at their jobs during precisely the hours when doctors' appointments, teachers' meetings, conferences with social workers, driver's license pictures, travel visas, and a host of other necessary activities must be scheduled. Regular access to scheduled paid time off can make a huge difference to the lives of working families. One of the unexpected lessons from our visits to companies abroad was the many different ways that this has been achieved in other countries – at no additional expense to employers.

In general, access to regularly scheduled paid time off from work is the result of the combination of an eight-hour workday and a reduction in the standard work week below 40 hours. Many European countries have taken steps toward an economy-wide reduction in the "normal" work week. In others, industry-wide or enterprise-level agreements have led to a shorter work week. We saw many examples of reduced work weeks organized so as to minimize disruption for companies in scheduling work while providing employees with access to paid time off.

In the Netherlands, the normal work week was reduced to 38 hours in the 1980s and, in some industries such as health care, to 36 hours in the 1990s. At one hospital we visited, nurses work five eight-hour days one week and four eight-hour days the next. (See the box, "36-hour weeks in the Netherlands.") This averages out to 36 hours a week over the two-week period, and provides each full-time nurse with a regularly scheduled paid day off every other week. Nurses are paid each week for 36 hours of work.

In Italy, the work week was reduced to 36 hours for workers in the public sector in the mid-1980s. These workers have the ability to alternate between 32 hours and 40 hours a week, with a paid day off every other week.

In Australia, many employment contracts include a provision for "rostered days off." The standard work week at a port we visited is 38 hours a week, but employees work an eight-hour day. Every four weeks, the employee has accumulated an extra day off, which he or she can take on a regularly scheduled basis in the fifth week. Alternatively, the employee can accumulate up to a maximum of five rostered days off and take them together as a paid week off at the end of five months.

A Japanese company we visited that produces and publishes educational materials aimed at mothers and their children has filled two-thirds of its career-track jobs with women, many of them young mothers. The normal workday at this company is seven hours, and career-track employees can work any seven hours they want between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m., subject to minor constraints to allow for staff and work team meetings. Employees can take a half a day off during the week, and make up the time by working eight hours on the remaining four days.

36-HOUR WEEKS IN THE NETHERLANDS

A noted cardiac hospital we observed in the Netherlands (it is the site of 1,700 open heart surgeries a year) employs 2,500 workers, of whom 760 are nurses. Full-time work is 32 or 36 hours a week. Shifts are eight-hours a day, and nurses achieve a 36-hour work week by working four days one week and five the next, or by alternating between six days and three days. They may work a permanent four-day schedule (32 hours) for pro-rated pay. About a third of nurses work part time, usually three full days a week. The hospital did not permit part-day (less than eight-hour) schedules, but this is about to change.

The hospital faces severe difficulties recruiting and retaining specialized nurses. Turnover of nurses is 14%, due partly to poor management (which has recently been remedied) and partly to the aging of the workforce and a desire on the part of nurses to work shorter days. Managers have been reluctant to implement shorter hours because they do not like to give up control over hours. They are also concerned that many mothers will choose this schedule, leaving managers a larger staff of part-time workers to deal with, in addition to the resentment of full-time workers. Passage of the Adjustment of Hours Act has forced the hospital to allow more flexible schedules. Together with the employees' work council, hospital management has initiated two experiments. One is a compressed work week for nurses who want to work four nine-hour days. The second is half-day schedules for part-time nurses. At the time of our visit, a policy for dealing with requests for either of these flexible schedules was under review by the hospital board and the work council.

Annualized hours of work, "working-time corridors" to deal with seasonal fluctuations in demand, and earned paid time off[13] or "working-time accounts" have been introduced in several countries, including Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. (See the box, "Working-time accounts in Germany and Italy.") Working-time accounts are too new in Italy to evaluate, but they have recently been implemented in the chemical sector.

Australian "awards" at the federal and state levels also include provisions that let employers make work schedules more flexible. The purpose of these flexible schedules was to preserve jobs for workers, increase employer flexibility in scheduling work, and reduce overtime payments by firms. As seen most clearly in Australia, where the labor movement is now quite weak and more than a third of workers typically work more than 40 hours a week, often without premium pay for hourly workers, this is flexibility for employers.

However, employer flexibility is tempered, in the case of Germany, by trade unions and works councils. For example, in the German construc-

WORKING-TIME ACCOUNTS IN GERMANY AND ITALY

A German automaker we observed negotiated a reduction in the work week to 28.8 hours in an effort to avoid mass layoffs during the recession of the early 1990s. Typically, it achieves this work week with four eight-hour days for nine weeks, followed by the 10th week off. Workers are paid for 28.8 hours during all 10 weeks. When demand is strong, the company can require workers to work five days a week. The schedule of nine 40-hour weeks on the job and one week off then results in an average 36-hour week. During 2000, workers averaged 33 hours a week. Hours above 28.8 are credited to the employee's "working-time account," and hours above 35 are banked at a premium rate.

During slack periods, employees can draw down their earned paid time off or working-time accounts and take time off. Alternatively, at the end of the year, they can collect additional pay for the hours in their working-time account. They also have the option of transferring hours in this "short-term" working-time account to a "medium-term" or "long-term" account. Up to 550 hours can be accumulated in the medium-term working-time account and used at the employee's discretion for an extended sabbatical or two shorter work breaks. The employee can use hours accumulated in the long-term account to finance early retirement or switch to part-time employment in the pre-retirement years at full pay. The company has benefited because it is able to better match output to demand. The result of these changes in working time has been a more efficient use of labor, lower inventory costs, and a more market-oriented manufacturing process.

The automaker has begun to pay attention to its employees' needs for flexibility and has implemented a large variety of work schedules in order to accommodate those needs. Workers enrolled in university courses are not scheduled to work during class hours. Parents of infants and single parents are not required to work nights. Older workers can choose part-time hours as a bridge to retirement. The scheduling is facilitated by software that takes into account union rules and worker preferences as well as production requirements.

The idea of averaging working time as a means of providing flexibility (mainly) for employers while increasing employment opportunities for workers is evident in some of the other companies we visited.

An Italian automaker we visited opened a large greenfield plant in the mid-1990s in a region of Italy with high unemployment. This plant operates on a variable schedule that averages weekly hours over a three-week period. In an effort to attract employment to the region, the company and the local union agreed to a shift schedule in which workers work 48 hours one week (six days), 48 hours the next week (six days), and 24 hours the third week (three days). This averages over the three weeks to 40 hours a week.

From the workers' perspective this schedule has some advantages. Having four days off in the third week is appreciated by those with a long commute to the plant. This is no small consideration, since the plant is located in a rural area far from many of its workers. When the facility first started up, it hired a relatively young workforce and faced no initial resistance to the work schedule. More recently, concern over the taxing nature of two six-day work weeks has increased as the workforce has aged. In addition, it is a particularly difficult work schedule for mothers to manage.

From the union's perspective, the advantage of this working-time arrangement is that it requires a sixth more workers than a straight 40-hour a week schedule, with the plant closed on Saturday as well as Sunday. The primary benefit to the company is that it is able to run the plant 24 hours a day and six days a week without paying overtime.

A German scientific instruments firm, which employs 1,000 workers, is another company located in an area of high unemployment that has negotiated a work schedule that it finds advantageous. The company has achieved flexibility in scheduling work and a reduction in payments for overtime. For workers, the most important gain is retention of these jobs. The normal work week for this company is 38 hours, with flexible starting and finishing times. Some employees have individual agreements for reduced weekly hours. Full-time employees work a weekly schedule that varies between 32 and 44 hours, and employees are paid each week for 38 hours. Work is project based, and projects typically last six to nine months. During the design phase, workers may work 32 hours a week. The work groups decide whether to work four eight-hour days or spread the time over five shorter days. Then, when the piece of equipment goes into production, hours rise. During crunch periods, workers may work 44 hours a week. The goal is to average 38 hours a week over the life of a project.

The firm balances employees' working time over a two-year period. At the end of two years, if the employee has averaged more than 38 hours a week, the additional hours go into a short-term working-time account and can be taken as time off or cashed out for money. Only if the hours worked average more than 44 hours a week over the two-year period will the employee receive premium overtime pay, and then only on hours above 44. This working-time arrangement increases the firm's ability to match worker hours to demand for products, and has virtually eliminated premium pay for overtime hours.

The working-time arrangement was not popular with women engineers at the facility and was contested by the union, IG Metall, which took 18 months to negotiate the contract that included these terms. In the end, the high rate of unemployment in the eastern part of Germany and the company's threat to move the jobs allowed it to prevail.

tion industry, average weekly hours are set at 39 on an annual basis, but vary in a narrow corridor from 40 hours in the summer to 37.5 hours in the winter. Firms in the German chemical industry also offer a working-time corridor. In chemicals, the regular work week is 37.5 hours, but employers have the option of extending weekly hours to 40 or reducing them to 35 without any change in compensation. Weekly hours over the year must average 37.5, however.

In 1998, the German union IG Metall negotiated a variant of the working-time account at a major financial services and information technology consulting company that employs white-collar professionals – mainly engineers, IT specialists, and management specialists – on project-based work. About 8,000 of the company's 20,000 German-based employees are represented by the union and covered by the new working-time model. The standard work week at this company is 40 hours. The company expects professional employees to work whatever hours are required to complete their projects successfully, and it does not pay them for these additional hours. Typically, there are "crunch" times – periods of intense work that require substantially more than 40 hours a week. In the new working-time model, professional employees can credit hours above 40 in any week to a working-time account, up to a maximum of 135 hours a year. The employees can then use these hours during less intense periods to reduce weekly hours. By drawing down earned paid time off in their working-time accounts, employees can reduce hours to 30 a week with no reduction in pay or, if they are between projects, can take paid time off from work for training activities. They can transfer hours they have not used up during the year, up to a maximum of 550, to a five-year working-time account. At the end of the five-year period they can use the hours for a three-month sabbatical at full pay, or they can purchase "pension capital entitlements" that will increase pensions benefits. Alternatively, they can transfer the hours to an even longer-term account to finance early or partial retirement.

Shared care

Working parents need options that provide them with affordable, high-quality supports to share some of the family's care responsibilities as well as options that allow them to share in the care of their children without penalty. Only when such options are widely available can families have meaningful choices about how to best organize market work and care work. Practices in the countries we studied suggest what some of those supports might be.

Reduced hours. Italy and Sweden among the countries we studied allow parents to use parental leave to reduce hours on the job by one-half or one-

PARENTAL LEAVE IN SWEDEN

A Swedish steel company we observed, a multinational, heavily unionized public corporation that manufactures high-end, high-valued-added, customized steel products (such as stainless steel tubes, wires, and bars), is regarded as a desirable place to work in Sweden (e.g., it has had no layoffs since 1985). It has no problems recruiting employees if it needs them (in fact, it is currently a bit overstaffed). Four thousand employees work at the facility we visited. About a quarter of its production workers are female, though the rest of the staff is more evenly divided between men and women.

The steel mill operates around the clock, and has about 75 different schedules. Workers typically average 35 hours a week over a four-week period. Following Swedish law, parents can reduce their hours by one-quarter (e.g., work a six-hour day rather than eight) until the child is 8 years old or in the first grade. The company pro-rates the pay of parents who take this option, with the balance covered by social insurance for eligible workers. The company picks up the slack by having other employees work overtime or by having persons not assigned to a particular job (e.g., a utility person) fill in the other two hours. The company's total payroll is unaffected if the additions to the utility crew just balance the reduced schedules taken by parents. However, to the extent that the company manages such partial parental leaves by overstaffing or by use of overtime, costs may rise.

quarter for an extended period following the birth of a child. (See the box, "Parental leave in Sweden.") Women in Germany are allowed to work part-time after giving birth without giving up their right to parental leave benefits, but in practice few firms make such jobs available. In the Netherlands the goal, if not the reality, is for parents of young children to be able to reduce weekly working time by one-fifth while remaining with their current employer. The current social discourse in the Netherlands suggests this as the model of how parents can combine work and child care responsibilities without the workforce marginalization of mothers.

Sabbatical leaves and career breaks for training have been introduced in several European countries, most widely in Sweden and the other Nordic countries. Some collective agreements in Germany also provide for these types of leave arrangements. These leaves provide working families with greater flexibility and reduced hours of work over the life cycle.

Care policies. In addition, formal care provisions – those regulated by law, collective agreements negotiated by unions, or other contractual arrangements between employers and employees – can motivate the sharing of care responsibilities more broadly by providing caregivers with short peri-

ods of paid leave, money, or services. Paid maternity leave is available in all of the countries in the European Union, and is frequently available to women who work part time. Take-up rates by mothers are at 100%. European Union countries must provide a minimum paid maternity leave of 14 weeks. Italy provides the longest leave, at 22 weeks. Payments for maternity leave are part of the social security system and are set at 100% of previous earnings in Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden and at 80% in Italy. The Netherlands caps payments at an annual rate equivalent to $35,000. However, large companies – including the Dutch multinational we visited – typically top up the social security payments for maternity leave to equal 100% of earnings. Japan makes paid maternity leave available, and it has recently raised payments to 40% of income. Mothers in all of these countries have the right to return to their former jobs at the end of the maternity leave. In Japan, however, women in career track jobs are encouraged to return to work quickly, while women in non-career-track jobs are often discouraged from returning to work. All of these countries pay maternity leave out of a social security fund, financed partly by payroll taxes and partly by general tax revenues. Only Australia, like the U.S., offers unpaid leave, and take-up rates are similarly low in both countries.

All of the European countries in our study permit paid time off for breastfeeding a baby, with Germany offering two 30-minute periods a day, Italy two one-hour periods a day, and the Netherlands up to one-quarter of the work day; Sweden allows mothers who return to work while the child is still a baby to take a paid reduction of the working day. All of the foreign countries in our study except Japan (but including Australia) have paid carer's leave, usually up to one week as negotiated by unions in collective agreements, to care for sick children or elderly or ill relatives. Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands make available longer unpaid leave for the care of sick children.

Collective agreements in these countries provide for unpaid leave for the care of elderly or sick relatives. Sweden provides temporary cash benefits equal to 80% of the employee's net pay for up to 60 days to parents to care for a sick or disabled child under the age of 12 or to any worker to care for a severely sick close relative. Municipalities in Sweden are required to provide trained personnel and home help to support elderly people in their own homes, and to provide specialized housing for the elderly who need special support services or cannot care for themselves.

Some countries have used parental leave policies to encourage fathers to take time off from work to care for young children. Among the countries in our study, this is most evident in Sweden. Swedish families get 12 months of paid parental leave, to be divided between the parents as

ENCOURAGING FATHERS TO TAKE LEAVE IN SWEDEN

At a Swedish electronics facility, whose 1,000 employees (nearly all of whom are full-time professional employees in engineering and marketing) design and develop telecommunications infrastructure equipment, employees have control over work hours, and the firm uses parental leave policies to recruit professional employees. With few exceptions, employees can vary their daily schedules and work any eight hours between 6 a.m. and 9 p.m. Professional employees, but not managers and project leaders, are compensated for overtime hours. At the employee's discretion, this compensation can be premium pay (time-and-a-half and double time on weekends) or compensatory time off. Mothers at the firm make full use of parental leave and national policies that allow them to work six hours a day when their children are young. However, the company found that most fathers were reluctant to take parental leave. Earnings during parental leave are replaced by social insurance at 80% of pay up to a cap, and men, who tended to have higher salaries, were more likely to be affected by the caps. In response to the tight labor markets for information technology (IT) workers in the late 1990s, the firm decided to top off the social insurance payments during parental leave to 80% of salary for all workers; it found that this policy increased the number of men taking parental leave. Younger men now typically take three months of parental leave. According to the human resources director, this policy has helped make the firm the employer of choice for the IT engineers it recruits.

they desire with the proviso that only one parent can be on leave at any time. However, if the father takes at least one month's leave, the family's total leave is increased to 13 months. Parental leave is paid at 80% of earnings, up to a cap, a policy that typically penalizes the father more than the mother since father's earnings still tend to be higher in Sweden and are more likely to be further above the cap. Companies that want to encourage fathers to take parental leave top off the social security payments, so that all employees receive 80% of earnings. (See the box, "Encouraging fathers to take leave in Sweden.") Workers can also take parental leave on a part-time basis. Parents may work and be paid for six hours a day while the child is young, and use their paid parental leave for the other two hours a day.

Child care services. The availability of affordable, high-quality child care varies widely in the countries we studied. In Sweden, all children have a right to a place in a nursery or child care facility. Municipalities provide public child care nurseries and child care centers, publicly paid and regulated care for children in private homes, and subsidized private nurseries

and child care centers with fees based on income. Approximately 75% of all children between the ages of 1 and 6 are in child care, as are about 90% of children between 3 and 6.

Dutch children attend public kindergarten at age 4, but the Netherlands has an enormous shortage of places for children younger than that. In the mid-1990s the 50,000 publicly subsidized nursery and child care slots covered less than 11% of children in this age category. More than half of all Dutch companies also provide some subsidized child care slots, either through collective agreements or in company rules, accounting for another 20,000 places. On-site nurseries provided by companies added another 3,300 places. The Netherlands has recently embarked on an ambitious program to increase the public child care infrastructure and increase the number of slots available to parents on a sliding fee scale.

Over 90% of Italian children age 3 to 5 years attend public kindergartens. These are thought of as early childhood education, but they are useful for working mothers because school hours are usually compatible with work schedules. Except for Bologna, however, there are few child care places for children under the age of 3, and these are very expensive. Only 6% of Italian children younger than 3 are in child care. In the Bologna area the local government provides publicly run, subsidized child care spaces for 27% of all children between infancy and age 3. The unmet need for child care is only about 20%, however, since some mothers of young children don't work and others prefer to leave the child with a grandparent or other relative.

In Germany, it is nearly impossible to find nursery or child care places for children under the age of 3. There are places for only 6% of all children in this age category – lower in the western part of Germany and much higher in the east. Almost 40% of children age 3 to 4 in the West and 80% in the East are in child care, compared to 72% and 85%, respectively, for children age 4 to 5. However, only a third of all child care centers have full-time hours, another half have full-time hours but children go home for lunch, and the rest have only morning hours. In addition, the school day in most public schools ends at 12:30. These hours make it difficult to combine work with the care of children. Although all children between the age 3 and 6 are legally entitled to a place in a public child care center, the entitlement only guarantees a place in a relatively costly part-time care center offering five hours per day of care and no lunch.

Carer replacement services. Some types of what we call carer replacement services can have the effect of reinforcing the unencumbered worker–devalued caregiver model and exacerbating the unequal treatment of different groups of working mothers. Under other circumstances, however, carer re-

PROMOTING CAREER TRACKS FOR WOMEN IN JAPAN

A Japanese publishing firm, which produces and markets educational materials, language instruction, and test and study services, stands out among Japanese companies in that it recruits women for career-track positions and promotes family-friendly employment practices. The basis of the company's approach lies in its philosophy "to help people live well." Because its target markets comprise children, students, women, teachers, and senior citizens, the firm's family-friendly practices are not only of concern to the human resources department but are translated directly into business strategy. By retaining mothers as employees, the company can effectively develop products and services that appeal to this market. The company offers flextime and reduced-work hours, child and family care leave, career development, and a cafeteria benefits package. It also subsidizes child and elder care, and has a job re-entry program for those who leave employment for an extended period. To encourage women to return after childbirth, the company has built an on-site child care facility and subsidizes fees. It makes active use of several government incentives. The government reimburses the company for one-half to two-thirds of the costs of child and elder care and partly covers the costs of the job re-entry program. The government also subsidizes half the set-up costs of establishing on-site day care and half the operating expenses for the first five years of operation. These subsidies are far from sufficient, however, and the company has spent significant amounts of money, particularly for on-site day care. The company has realized significant benefits from these practices, including (1) retention of skilled, experienced and motivated employees; (2) recruitment of talented employees; (3) better development of products and services; and (4) cultivation of brand image and reputation effects.

placement services can represent the willingness of employers to share responsibility for family care work. In these cases, such services can contribute to a new model of shared care.

In Japan, the government is concerned that a dip in fertility rates means that within 10 years there will be shortages of male workers to fill career occupations. Recruiting women into these jobs is a goal of government policy. But career-track jobs in Japan make intense demands on the "salarymen" who hold them to the near total exclusion of family interests and responsibilities. While this is slowly changing, employees who accept a career-track job make a commitment to serve the company's interests that would probably seem extreme to workers in other countries. In exchange, Japanese workers get a commitment from the company for training, retraining, wage mobility, and lifetime employment.

To make career-track jobs more attractive to women, the Japanese government has adopted a number of policy measures, including subsidies for

ON-SITE DAY CARE IN AUSTRALIA

A publicly held human resources consulting company we observed in Australia was started by two women out of their need to combine employment with care for their young children. To attract highly skilled men and women in their twenties and thirties, the firm offers a non-traditional benefits package that emphasizes flexible working arrangements and an on-site child care facility for babies and toddlers. The on-site creche enables women to return to full-time work following the birth of a child. It accommodates the needs of mothers to breastfeed, as well as freeing them up to concentrate on the firm's customers. This company is unique among consulting businesses, which tend to be male dominated and have a partnership structure that encourages employees to maximize billable hours and discourages workers from taking time out for family. The company is committed to these initiatives and believes that they result in high levels of productivity and organizational commitment, low levels of staff turnover, ability to attract talented professionals, customer satisfaction, and overall business performance. The company does not, however, track costs associated with these initiatives.

the expenses involved in creating and operating on-site child care facilities for newborns and toddlers. (See the box, "Promoting career tracks for women in Japan.") In focus groups with workers at the publishing company we visited, mothers reported that the company's on-site nursery was especially important in enabling them to meet their responsibilities as mothers as well as workers. An Australian human resources consulting business we visited took a similar approach. (See the box, "On-site day care in Australia.")

Summing up

A society that values care work will make it possible for working families to provide care for children, the sick, and the elderly without marginalizing caregivers in the labor market by consigning them to poor-quality part-time jobs. It also will not marginalize caregiving activities, whether they are the unpaid services of mothers or services purchased in the market. This review of policies and practices in the countries we studied suggests the elements required for this to happen. Parents need access to reduced hours on their current jobs and/or access to good-quality part-time jobs or job sharing. They need paid maternity leave, paid breaks to nurse infants, short periods of paid leave to care for sick children and relatives, and unpaid leave plus publicly provided cash benefits to care for seriously ill children or relatives. They need health insurance for themselves and their children, and paid sick leave for themselves. Finally, they need subsidized high-quality child care for infants and young children, and public pre-kindergarten education for 3- and 4-year-olds.

Chapter 3

Policies to facilitate a model of shared work–valued care

An important lesson from our visits to other countries is that public policy has an indispensable role to play in helping nations achieve the norms of shared work–valued care. A related lesson is that companies can operate successfully under very different rules, and can prosper and be profitable in a variety of institutional settings.

Separating family benefits, such as health insurance, from employment by individual employers can go a long way toward reducing the fixed employment costs that make it difficult for U.S. employers to allow workers to reduce hours of work on their current jobs for family or other reasons. Using government benefits to finance maternity or parental leave or extended periods of sick leave makes it much easier for companies to hold workers' jobs for them during such leaves. Companies can use payroll savings to hire temporary replacements.[14] Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, and Japan already have some or all of these policies in place.

Shortening the standard work week and placing limits on mandatory overtime can improve the quality of life for working families. It can also make it easier for women, and especially mothers, to hold full-time jobs. Several countries we visited have maximum-hours-of-work laws, including Germany and Italy (48 hours a week) and the Netherlands (45 hours a week). Union contracts typically set full-time hours below 40 a week in Europe. At just under 2,000 hours a year, the U.S. now has the longest annual average hours of work in the industrialized world – outstripping even Japan. More than 70% of U.S. workers worked 40 or more hours a week in 1996, compared with 14% of workers in Germany and less than 8% of workers in the Netherlands (Golden and Figart 2000).

Industrialized countries are also pursuing a variety of policies to allow workers to choose to reduce hours on their current jobs. Many of the countries we visited use public policy to reduce working time for parents. Swedish parents of children younger than 8 can request a shorter workday. Partial parental leave, in which parents (sometimes only mothers) who hold full-time jobs can return to work on a part-time basis for a period of time

following the birth of a child, is available in several countries. In the Netherlands, the recently enacted Adjustment of Hours law is an innovative policy that may facilitate the adjustment of hours of work over the lifetime. Workers might choose full-time schedules in the early years to establish a career, four-day weeks for each partner when they have young children, full-time hours as the children grow older, and part-time schedules in the pre-retirement years. The policy is intended to lead to a reduction in hours with no reduction in the quality of the job, although pay and company benefits are pro-rated. In the Netherlands, this policy is combined with laws intended to protect part-time workers against discrimination, including unequal access to training and promotion opportunities. If successfully implemented, this combination of policies could provide a powerful motivation for the development of norms of shared work by men and women both in the home and at the workplace.

Workers in part-time jobs are protected against discrimination and entitled to pro-rata pay and benefits in many countries. In Australia, for example, the conditions of part-time work are set in awards negotiated at the national or state level by worker and employer representatives and enshrined in law. Employers must provide part-time workers with the benefits of full-time employment on a pro-rata basis. These benefits include pay, vacation leave, sick leave, and so on. Part-time workers work less than a full week or year but with reasonably predictable hours of work. "Casual employees" are closer to direct hire temporary workers. In general these workers do not receive pro-rated full-time benefits, but receive a substantial premium in wages or salaries instead.[15]

Universal child care, pre-school, and elder care make it possible for families in some countries to share family care work with community and government institutions. In our sample, this was most apparent in Sweden and in individual communities scattered across the industrialized countries, such as the Italian city of Bologna. The lack of child care infrastructure limits mothers' access to paid work in countries like the Netherlands and Germany and in most of Italy for mothers of children under age 3.

Finally, while often omitted from discussions of work and family, a more equal sharing of responsibilities for paid market work and unpaid care work presupposes more equal access by women to good-quality jobs and a reduction in the wage gap between men and women. Families are unlikely to be able to choose to have men spend more time in unpaid care activities if the income sacrificed by the family is much greater when men work fewer hours than when women do. Moreover, the absence of a commitment to equal opportunity may mean an increased polarization within the society as the employment of mothers increases. Professional and mana-

gerial women in dual-earner families working full time at jobs that require long hours face a time crunch, while the many women in marginal and/or part-time jobs face a money crunch. Both shoulder the double responsibility of job and care work, and experience high levels of stress from the difficulties they face in performing well as mothers and as workers.

Building on a proposal by Randy Albelda (see note 3), we offer six cornerstones of public policy to facilitate a system of shared work and valued care in the U.S. They are:

- ***Hours-of-work legislation*** to allow for a shorter standard work week for all, flexibility for workers, longer part-time hours, and limits on mandatory overtime. In combination with an eight-hour day, a shorter work week can provide full-time workers with regularly scheduled paid time off from work. In addition, employers should not be able to require hourly or salaried employees to work more than 48 hours a week.

- ***Adjustment-of-hours legislation*** to allow workers to request up to a 20% reduction in hours and pro-rated reductions in pay and benefits that employers would have to honor unless there was a good business reason not to do so.

- ***Equal opportunity and non-discrimination provisions*** to protect workers on part-time schedules from discrimination in pay or benefits, to encourage private sector employers to make good part-time jobs widely available and to reduce the gender gap in pay.

- ***Sharing of the cost of care*** by investing in day care and elder care infrastructure, and by providing subsidies for child care and elder care, short-term carers' leave, subsidized wages or tax credits for caregivers, universal preschool, and after- and before-school programs for children.

- ***Untying of benefits from individual employers*** by making access to health insurance available to everyone without regard to employment status, and by establishing funds similar to unemployment insurance for maternity leave, parental leave, and long-term family medical leave; also, provision of a floor under wages by indexing the minimum wage to the median wage.

- ***Updating of income security protections*** such as unemployment insurance and old age pensions. In the U.S. and many other countries, tax provisions and government programs that provide social security or unemployment insurance are geared to the breadwinner–homemaker model of work and care and to the standard employment relationship. These policies need to be updated to reflect the changes and great variety

in family structure and in work arrangements. They need to be reformed to provide more generous income supports to low-wage workers by providing credits through the tax system and to provide minimum adequate income supports for single parents and others unable to work.

The industrialized countries vary in the extent to which care work has been devalued and workers in part-time jobs, especially mothers, have been excluded from the standard employment relationship. Some countries have begun to move toward the other end of the spectrum, where work is shared and care is valued. Where they fall depends, in part, on how far they have gone in implementing the types of policies described above. The Netherlands and Sweden provide much food for thought. The Netherlands has recently adopted an innovative legal and public policy framework for adjusting hours of work over the life cycles of both men and women, although current realities still leave much room for improvement. Sweden is far ahead on many fronts. Work supports for working parents are extensive, and Sweden has the smallest gender wage gap as well as the lowest rates of child poverty of any country. Despite its admirable record in providing women with access to full-time professional and managerial jobs, the U.S. lags behind the other countries in this study on all of these fronts.

Endnotes

1. The Treaty of Amsterdam was proposed in 1997 and identifies employment as an area of common concern for the EU. It calls for the drawing up of "national action plans." The Luxembourg summit in 1997 established guidelines for the national action plans that include equal opportunities for women as well as employability, entrepreneurship, and adaptability as important components. The Vienna summit in December 1998 established gender mainstreaming as a new guideline and required gender issues to be considered in all four aspects of the national action plans on employment, not just as part of equal opportunity. The Lisbon summit in 2000 recognized the importance of child care in achieving the employment goals of the Treaty of Amsterdam. (For a fuller discussion, see J. Rubery, M. Smith, et al. 2001.) As a result, it is mandatory for EU countries to take equal opportunity policy and the mainstreaming of women into account in designing employment policies. It is no longer acceptable to marginalize women in the labor market and restrict them to certain industries and occupations. The treaty and related directives provide a legal basis for women to challenge their second-class status in the European Court of Justice. As a result, the Italian government, for example, is examining the situation of women in each region. However, the treaty and related directives have not yet been translated into law, and their implementation in Italy and elsewhere in the EU may take years.

2. See also Williams (2000) on this point.

3. These policies were initially suggested, as they are presented here, by Randy Albelda during a meeting of the Sloan Foundation-sponsored Work and Family Research Network.

4. For an excellent discussion of the evolution and characteristics of the breadwinner–homemaker model, see Matthaei (1982).

5. The European Childcare Network provides information on the employment of mothers with a child age 10 or under for the European countries in this study. In 1996:

- in Sweden, 82% of mothers were in the labor force; 35% worked full time, 40% worked part time, and 7% were unemployed;
- in West Germany, 50% of mothers were in the labor force; 18% worked full time, 28% worked part time, and 4% were unemployed;
- in East Germany, 88% of mothers were in the labor force; 55% worked full time, 14% worked part time, and 19% were unemployed;
- in the Netherlands, 52% of mothers were in the labor force; 6% worked full time; 41% worked part time, and 5% were unemployed;
- in Italy, 49% of mothers were in the labor force; 37% worked full time, 6% worked part time; and 6% were unemployed (European Childcare Network, cited in Rubery et al. 2001, Table 5).

6. Rubery et al. (2001), Table 8; author's calculations from Japanese Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, 1998, *1997 Employment Status Survey*, Tokyo. Figure includes self-employed family workers. For wage and salary workers only, the figure in 40.2%. Among married couples in the U.S., the proportion of dual earners is just over 60%.

7. In 1990 in the U.S., 55.7% of children living with a lone parent were poor. The comparable figures for the European countries in our study were 25.5% in Germany, 18.3% in Italy, 34.4% in the Netherlands, and 5.2% in Sweden (based on original analysis of the Luxembourg Income Study by Jun-Rong Chen, in Ditch, Barnes, et al. (1996), cited in Rubery, Smith, et al. (2001).

8. Carer replacement services can sometimes reinforce the unencumbered worker–devalued caregiver model, while in other contexts they can enable families to share care responsibilities with employers or the broader community. The nature of the services and the range of choices available to employees for meeting care responsibilities are important in determining whether or not such services are desirable.

9. In addition to our own observations, this section draws on two reports of the European Commission, Department of Employment and Social Affairs, Bettio, Del Bono, et al. (1998) and Bettio and Prechal (1998).

10. Japanese Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, 1998, *1997 Employment Status Survey*, Tokyo.

11. The question of how to facilitate the combination of paid work and family responsibilities was first identified as a major policy aim of the Dutch government in the Equal Opportunities Policy Plan of 1985, when the goal was defined as follows: "To achieve a situation in which every adult can be economically self-supporting and independent, irrespective of his or her domestic arrangements. In principle, this situation will be achieved via increasing participation in paid employment and, where this is not possible, by the creation of an individual statutory right to social security benefits." The overall aim of Dutch government policy in this regard is still to achieve a permanent situation in which as many people as possible are able to combine uninterrupted economic independence with family responsibilities. The Netherlands uses the following yardstick of "economic independence." Individual economic independence means having an income from paid employment equivalent to at least 70% of the full-time family minimum wage. In the 1985-98 period, the percentage of women aged between 15 and 65 who were economically independent increased from 19% to 39%. This represents an average increase of over 1.5% a year. The aim is to maintain the same rate of increase over the coming decade, so that by 2010 almost 60% of women will be economically independent. (Source: excerpts from a paper by Eelco Wierda, Ministry of Social Affairs and Employability in the Netherlands, provided by e-mail December 13, 2000.)

12. Japanese Institute of Labour, 2000, *Japanese Working Life Profile: 2000 – Labour Statistics*, Tokyo: Japanese Institute of Labour, p. 73.

13. As noted above, a few U.S. companies allow workers to combine days off to which they are entitled into an entitled paid-time-off account. In Europe, companies and unions have negotiated the parameters within which workers can accumulate earned paid time off – so-called working-time accounts.

14. In Japan, where internal labor markets are highly developed and external labor markets for skilled workers hardly exist, companies are unable to find temporary replacements for mothers who take maternity leave. Despite the fact that maternity leave is financed through social security and companies can afford to hire replacements, in practice this is usually impossible to do.

15. Since 1999 in the Australian state of Queensland, casual workers are covered by employment laws governing dismissal and discriminatory behavior after one year of continuous employment with the same employer, and by maternity leave after two years of employment. As in the U.S., maternity leave in Australia is unpaid.

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For a century or more in the United States until the mid-1970s, the husband-as-breadwinner and wife-as-homemaker system governed social attitudes toward paid work and unpaid care. But with the rapid increase in the paid employment of mothers, that model has been supplanted in favor of a system in which all workers – male or female – can hold a full-time job provided they conform to employers' notions of a worker unencumbered by domestic responsibilities. This model of organizing paid and unpaid work has left most American working families anxious about their ability to care adequately for their children and aging relatives, stressed by the demands of work, and starved for time.

Shared Work–Valued Care examines practices in Japan, Australia, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy to gain insights into how work and care responsibilities might realistically be reorganized to better meet the needs of working families.

Eileen Appelbaum is research director at the Economic Policy Institute. Her research focuses on work hours and flexible schedules and their consequences for employees and organizations, and she is the co-author (with Bailey, Berg, and Kalleberg) of *Manufacturing Advantage: Why High Performance Work Systems Pay Off*.

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